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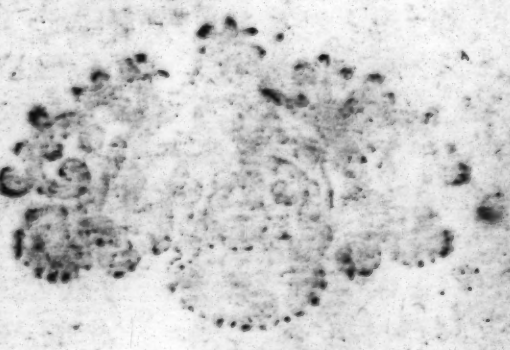

ICEBO

ODIS

Clodius and *Cicero.*

IT will ever be the Fate of thoſe who are high in Station or Fame, to be the Mark of Envy to ſome that are lower: No Matter for their Innocence, or Sufficiency, or Uſefulneſs, or any Superior Qualification or Talents; their Exaltation and Importance is Crime enough, where there is no other, and often the trueſt Reaſon for depreſſing them: Oppoſition to Power is far from being a ſure Proof of the Abuſe of Power, as I ſhall ſoon ſhew; and the vileſt, the moſt barbarous Abuſes of it, are frequently popular and adored. How dear to the *Turks* is their peſtilent Monarchy, and to good *Catholicks*, how ſacred is the more peſtilent Inquiſition!

From theſe Conſiderations, I am led to think it no ungenerous Task to defend ſuch as poſſeſs Power without abuſing it; and to ſhew the Arts and Iniquity of cauſleſs Diſguſt and Oppoſition. The Examples which, for this Purpoſe, I bring,

and the Paſſages I quote; are related with Softning or Palliation, an Artifice which I from; and did not want: I hope the Reaſon from the whole, is juſt, as I am ſure 'tis my Intent. I deſire my Readers will excuſe my *Latin* Quotations, and not aſcribe to Pedantry what I produce for Authorities. I will only add that, in this Argument, I am guided by no Perſonal Enmity; by no unkind Wiſh to any Man living; and abhor all Methods of Slander: Nay am I conſcious that theſe Papers, or any Thing in them, is the Effect of any blameable Paſſion.

Malecontents, whenever they would declare themſelves, muſt ſet out like hoſtile Princes, arm'd with Complaints and Manifeſtoes. Where Violence and Oppoſition are ſhewn, [illegible] Reaſon muſt be affignied; and, however ſlight or narrow the true Motives be, Publick Zeal muſt be diſplay'd on one Side, and Publick Welfare cried on the other. The Pride and Ill-nature of Particulars would be little regarded by the People, and not at all felt. But Miſmanagements in high Places, Abuſe of Publick Truſt, and Waſte of Publick Money or Blood, are Evils truly popular and alarming.

Clodius, the diſobliged and wrathful *Clodius*, who had ſworn the Ruin of *Cicero*, the ableſt Statesman and Orator in *Rome*, and her beſt Patriot, was not ſo weak as to own in his daily Inveſtives and Harangues, that ſo much Antipathy to his old Friend (for ſuch had *Cicero* lately been to *Clodius*) aroſe from Perſonal Spite and Diſappointment; tho' 'tis moſt true, that all his Zeal and Speeches had no honeſter a Source. *Clodius* had a better Expedient to ſatiate his Fury, without owning

ring it. He profeſs'd a ſingular Attachment to the Honour and Intereſt of the People: For them he charged *Cicero* with exorbitant Meaſures, and ſhedding illegally the Blood of *Romans*. It was indeed Fact, that *Cicero* had ſhed ſome Blood; but it was to ſave the beſt Blood in the State, and the State itſelf, that he ſhed it: It was to ſuppreſs a Conſpiracy, the moſt barbarous and ſanguinary that ever threatned *Rome*; I mean that of *Catiline*: Nor could it have been at all ſuppreſſed, but by cutting off the chief Conſpirators, who had agreed to ſet Fire to the City in an hundred Places; to murder the Senate, and all the Citizens they met; to raiſe an Army in *Italy*, and call in Foreigners.

So that the Faithfulneſs of this great Magiſtrate to his Truſt, his Vigilance in his Poſt, and Love to his Country, were by this Malignant converted into ſo many Crimes. What is more ſurprizing, this ſame *Clodius* had been one of *Cicero's* moſt Aſſiſtants in defeating that very Conſpiracy; yet bluſh'd not afterwards to accuſe him, for uſing the only effectual Means he could uſe, for preſerving the Being of the Government. Had this worthy Miniſter carried his Point any other Way; had he ſaved the State by Dint of Money, he had been ſtill obnoxious to the virulent Spirit of this Sedition: *Clodius* would have found another Crime equally invidious, that of a corrupt Adminiſtration, and ſquandering the Publick Treaſure. *Clodius*, who had help'd *Cicero* to quell a barbarous Conſpiracy againſt *Rome*, was afterwards employed to form one againſt the Perſon of *Cicero*.

Methinks 'tis an Act of common Candour and Equity, due from every impartial Man, that, while he

he is trying Miniſters and their Conduct, he do
not forget to conſider Malecontents and their:
We ſhould compare Acts of Policy and Power on the
Side, with thoſe of Diſcontent and Oppoſition on
the other; and remember, that it is as natural to
defend, as to attack. Why may not Zeal (if the
Welfare of the State be the Drift and Spur of the
Zeal) be as well placed in ſupporting an Admini-
ſtration, as in undermining and aſſaulting it? Why
are not extraordinary Means and Expences juſtifi-
able for preſerving a Settlement, when extraord-
nary Methods, and all Methods, are taken to em-
barraſs and blow it up? Is it equitable and rig-
reous to inflame, exaſperate, and diſtreſs; but ar-
bitrary and violent to appeaſe, ſoften, and relieve?
During the Rage and Tyranny of the famous *French*
League (who were a Cabal of Malecontents with a
Vengeance) it was but a Piece of natural Juſtic
and Duty to ſtand by the Court and ſupport it;
as it ever is, in every unjuſt Attempt to weak
it, and clog its good Counſels: At ſuch a Co
juncture, Patriotiſm is on the Court Side.

But, ſay ſome, have not Miniſters their Tools to
defend them? Yes; but why that ugly Name,
when the Cauſe and the Defence are both good;
and I ſpeak of no other? It muſt be remembe
too, that abuſive Pens often engage officiouſly f
them, without their Knowledge, and utterly
gainſt their Inclinations. But why are Tools
ſtrain'd to Miniſters only? Have not their Ri
have not Malecontents their Tools too, and e
railing, malicious Tools. *Clodius* had his, and
made no inconſiderable Part of his Forces, in
Attack upon *Cicero*: *He employed* (ſays Plutar

a Gang of ſcurrilous Wretches, on Purpoſe to calumniate and revile him.

As Miniſters are ſometimes in the Wrong, and their Opponents in the Right; ſo their Rivals are often factious, unreaſonable Men, and their Conduct criminal and barbarous, while the Meaſures of the others are neceſſary and upright. Was there any Compariſon between *Cicero* and *Cataline*; any between *Cicero* and *Cladius*; or any between the Great Cardinal *Richlieu* and his vain Competitor *Cinqmars*? I have ſeen Complaints and Inveſtives pointed at particular Miniſters, which would have ſerved full as well againſt any Miniſtry, good or bad, at any Time. There are certain Evils and Inconveniencies inſeparable from Society, nay blended with the Nature of it, and often ariſing from the beſt Regulations which human Wiſdom can invent, or human Frailty can bear: To domeſtick Evils, foreign Evils will be often added, occaſion'd by Wars and Competition for Dominion: Now 'tis an eaſy Task to a large Conſcience, under any Adminiſtration, to amaſs together a terrible Catalogue of the whole, a Catalogue of heavy Grievances at home, of mortal Calamities abroad; and father all upon the Inſufficiency, or Malice, or Ambition of Superiors.

Is a ſudden Patriot offended with Men in Power? Inſtantly he's incens'd at their Meaſures; and becauſe he is in Wrath, and too important to be angry alone, the People too muſt be inflamed. Do they pay large Taxes? It is owing to the Extravagance or Avarice of their Governors. Are they threatned with Wars? Their Rulers are faulty; their Rulers have provok'd Foreign Powers. Are ſome of our neighbouring Potentates arming, and

engaged

engaged in offensive Confederacies; and have
Recourse, for Self-Defence, to the only Means
which can protect us; Arms and Confederacies
our Part too? This is decried and derided.
Alliances are call'd unnatural Conjunctions,
such only as were left us to make, such only
can ballance the Powers combin'd against us.
formidable Detail is made of our Debts, that
tail is invidiously calculated and misrepresented
and, for the Comfort of our Enemies, our
ciency to oppose them, is, by these good Pa
endeavoured to be shewn. Sometimes, our D
ger is represented as chimerical; sometimes,
Nation as utterly unable to encounter it.

Ask our Malecontents, would they not have
State? They will answer, Yes, and at the
Time thwart every Step towards that End.
are for the Thing, but against every possible
of attaining it. Ask them, are they for admi
the *Pretender*? No, they cry; and with the
Breath labour to frustrate all Measures for
him out; and even join with those who are for
ing him in. Is there any new Turn in the
of *Europe*, to make more Men and more
necessary? They oppose the raising of either,
cry aloud, that we have enough of both alre
Which would be very true, if we did not
more.

Such, in truth, is their Gall, that, rather
not discharge it, they contradict themselves and
mon Sense; risk the Honour, Security, and
of the Government; sacrifice the Publick, to be
veng'd on its Governours; and act like Co
without his Provocation. A *French* Writer po
ascribes one of the late *French* King's Wars, to
vin

Devices of *Colbert*'s Particular Enemies at Court; who promoted so much Mischief to *France*, and all *Europe*, on purpose to distress that great Man in the Finances. They cared not what there Country suffer'd, so they could gratify their own Malice and Vengeance, and ruin the Treasurer. The angry Men seem instigated by the same Spirit, but descend to Assaults of the lowest Form, to ill-bred and unmanly Language, to combat with gross Abuse and Railing, the Arms of incens'd Monks and vulgar Women, and the sure Indications of a Genius, little, spiteful, and barren.

Are they displeased with any Man's Publick Conduct? Let them examine it: If it bears Examination, and appears fair; let them do Honour to Truth, and acknowledge it: Or, if they be not Masters of so much Generosity, let them, at least, forbear Scurility and Reviling. Such Forbearance would be but good Policy in themselves: For, if they fall upon the Persons of Particulars, and descend to domestick Reproach; if they shew Hearts manifestly inflamed, and apparently seek Personal Vengeance; who will trust their Judgment and Censure of Men, whose Destruction they seem to have sworn? Who will ever think that profess'd Accusers, or rather profess'd Executioners, are qualify'd for Judges, in a Cause too which they have already prejudg'd. This Service, however, they do to the Objects of their Wrath, that by returning to Personal Invectives, they shew how little they are furnish'd with Matter of Publick Censure. The Maligners of *Cato* the younger, unable to blemish his Behaviour in the State, made Sarcasms upon his Humour and Dress: The Enemies of *Seneca* charg'd him with being very rich, over-assuming, and magnifi-

tent: and the Rabble of *Antioch* were taught by their Demagogues to droll upon the Emperor *Julian*'s Beard.

Our angry Patriots take another Method to which favours not much of Patriotism. They not only tender of blaming the Conduct and impr rious Demands of the *Emperor* and *Spain*, but a fiduous to defend them, and plead for them. All the Fault, it seems, is in the Miniſtry, who have incens'd theſe Powers: As if the Miniſtry had in their keeping the Paſſions of foreign Princes, and were anſwerable for their Schemes and Caprices. To *Spain* they would not ſurrender *Gibraltar*; nor to the *Emperor* ſacrifice our Trade: Had they done either, I know what they would have deſerv'd, and ſo do the Malecontents: But becauſe they would do neither, the *Emperor* and *Spain* are combin'd to deſtroy us, ſince we would not conſent to be deſtroyed: And for theſe Reſentments and Deſigns we have thoſe here who make their Defence, and charge the Miniſtry. They do, by the Miniſtry, as the late *French* King did once by the *Dutch*, declare themſelves diſſatisfied with their Conduct: It was all the Reaſon he vouchſafed to give for denouncing War againſt them.

In my Opinion, a greater Encomium cannot be given the preſent Miniſtry, than that *Spain* and the *Emperor* are very angry with them; nor a ſeverer Satire be made upon the Enemies of the Miniſtry, than that every Oppoſition they give the Miniſtry, upon this Occaſion, is an Encouragement given to the hoſtile Schemes of theſe Monarchs; nor, were they retain'd by theſe Monarchs, to ſerve them, could they ſerve them more effectually. He who clogs every Meaſure taken for our Defence a-

our Foes, does so far add to the Spirit and Strength of our Foes: A Truth which poor King *William* sadly proved, almost all his Reign. Could the then *French* King, could the late King *James*, and, after him, his pretended Son, have a greater Incitement to attack us, than that we had amongst us such as were ready to invite an Attack, by perpetual Clamours, and perpetual Contradiction to all Counsels taken for our Security?

In the Discovery of the late Conspiracy, how many plausible and popular Things were alledg'd against the Bill for punishing the principal Conspirator, especially by the D. of *W*———*n*? Such, in truth, was the Advantage given to our secret Enemies, by that Opposition, and such was the Use made of it by false Friends, that it was no easy Matter to punish him at all. That D—— has since amply explain'd to all the World, with what righteous Views he made that Stand. Naturally frail and deceitful is the Spirit of Man; nor can he tell, when he lets loose his Passions, how far they will carry and transport him. The D——— was bred in the highest Principles of Liberty and Protestantism; but private Disgust and disappointed Ambition, have precipitated him into the open Profession of Popery, and made him an Advocate for Slavery and the *Pretender*. I could mention a noble Lord of much more natural Virtue, whose Prejudices and Resentments led him away, Step by Step, from his old Friends and Politicks, so far, that, had he lived, no one could tell, nor perhaps could he himself tell, where his Defection might have ended: I say thus much of him, with the utmost Tenderness and Reluctance, on Account of the excellent Qualities and Endowments that were in him.

It is astonishing what shameless Cavils a
Passion is capable of making! The *Pretender*, in
his Manifesto during the late Rebellion, among
other Reasons, for engaging all Men to desert the
present Succession, and join with him, urg'd, that
while all *Europe* felt the Blessings and Solacements
of Peace, *Great-Britain* alone was suffering all the
Rage and Miseries of War. He, and his Creatures,
made that War; yet the Administration was, by
him and his Creatures, charg'd with it, and with
the Evils and Consequences of it. It was a perverse
Thing in the Publick, and the Governours of the
Publick, not to stand still and be inslaved. I wish
this Reasoning were singular; and am sorry to see
it adopted now. Our present Equipment of Fleets
and Armies for defeating hostile Machinations, is
with the same Candour, condemn'd and ridiculed
by Men, who, by the Diversion and Opposition
they make at home, encourage Insults and Hostili-
ties from abroad.

The unnatural Conjunction of *Great-Britain* with
France, so much at this Time urg'd and decried, is
a Bait for the Mob, and a Subject for a Declaimer.
Spain and the *Emperor* were once our Friends, and
we theirs: Must we still continue Friends to them,
when they commence Enemies to us? *France* was
once, and often our Enemy: Must we therefore re-
fuse the Friendship and Aid of *France*, when a com-
mon Peril threatens both, and renders the Union
of both necessary? Is a War with *Spain* [illegible]
our Interest? So is every War; where we
serve our Honour, Independency, and
our War: But when we cannot prefer
Peace, we must fight to preserve them.

Nothing

Nothing is more usual than this changing of Sides, in the Change of Times, and the Situation of Things; nothing is more politick. Queen *Elizabeth* understood the Interest of her State perfectly, and loved her People tenderly: Yet Queen *Elizabeth* engaged them in frequent Wars, and even contrary Wars; with *France* first, all the while that that Crown sought to dethrone her in Favour of a Rival, or, if you will, a Popish Pretender*. She afterwards made Peace with *France*, nay, an Alliance with *France*, against the restless Designs and Ambition of *Spain*. This was a long War, and cost her much Blood and Treasure. But after she had sunk the Pride and Strength of *Spain*; after she had seen *Henry* the Fourth of *France* settled in Peace, and absolute Master of that great Kingdom; it is plain she began to grow jealous of him, and would not have consented to see *Spain* further reduced.

But because *Spain* had been long the most formidable Power in *Europe*, under *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second; many People continued to dread the Name after the Strength was gone. From that Time forward, the Power of *France* began to turn the Scale, and *Spain* was become exceeding low; yet was still uppermost in the Imaginations of Men who had not attended to the Change. *France* grew thenceforth terrible, but has since been reduced; and *Spain* has revived: Yet People are still alarmed with the Sound of *France*, which for a great while was wont to terrify them; and they think *Spain* and the Emperor still very weak and contemptible, because some Years ago, they were really so.

* *Mary* Queen of *Scots*.

But

But let their Condition be what it will, if they are resolved to make War upon us, we must defend ourselves by the Methods of War; and accept such Assistance as we can find, tho' it were not what we could wish. No two States upon Earth have, either from Situation, natural Necessity, or the Nature of their Governments, more need of one another than *England* and *Holland*, or stronger Ties to mutual Aid; and it would be Madness in either of them to attack each other: Yet if one of them were so mad as to make such an Attack, the other must be obliged to repel it.

But the Malecontents disbelieve, or seem to disbelieve, that the two Crowns have any such hostile Designs and Engagements. To prove this, and disprove the Evidence produced by the Ministry, they have recourse to Mirth, and quote old Songs: By such Reasoning and Authorities they hope to ridicule the Intelligence from abroad, because it comes transmitted through several Hands; tho' it is by such Intelligence only that any State can be first apprized of the Designs of any Enemy. How was the Gun-powder Treason discovered? Somebody told *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who told *Monsieur de Rhosni*, who told King *James*. Queen *Elizabeth* never saw the great *Spanish* Armada, yet was not mistaken in making powerful Preparations by Sea and Land to defeat it. Nor does any Jest or Ballad prove, that, in case of Apprehension from abroad, a Prince should take a Voyage to be personally informed of the Movements of a Court which he has cause to suspect. In short, how is any Plot to be unravell'd, how any dark Design to be brought to light, but by Information convey'd from Hand to Hand? How did most People know the

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there was was a Rebellion in *Great Britain*, some Years ago? Had they any other Intelligence than that of the *Gazette*, which came from the Printers, who had it from the Writer, and he from the Secretary of State, who had never seen the Rebels? I then met with some indeed, who seemed not to believe it, and sneered at it; but they were such as wished all Success to the Rebellion.

As a farther Proof that traditionary Evidence may be valid Evidence, I will refer these free Jesters to a Book not many Years old; 'tis *The Report of the Secret Committee*, for enquiring into the late Conspiracy. They will there find, that Hearsays, Reports at second and third Hand, Circumstances collateral Evidence, the Evidence of Decyphering, nay, the Evidence of a dumb Beast, passed for abundant Proof. They were, in reality, a Combination of Proofs, stronger and more convincing than the oral Testimony of two or three, or ten positive Witnesses. I dare say the *Committee*, who drew up that *Report*, firmly believed the Evidence which they had so well deduced; and am satisfied that every unbiass'd Man was convinced by it.

When a Country is under the Terrors of an Invasion, will any one, who does not wish it, say that their Governors must stay for ocular Demonstration? Must they proceed by Juries, and Commissions of Enquiry, to know whether a Tempest threatens the State? The Commission given, upon Emergencies, to the great Magistrates of *Rome*, was general; "to provide that no Detriment befel the Publick." With ours 'tis a standing Direction and Duty; if they omit it or abuse it, they are answerable: They must have their Eyes every where, all over *Europe* as well as at home; they are to watch

watch every Signal of approaching Storms and C
motions to see Evil at a Distance, and keep it
and never suffer themselves to be surprized
'tis an inhuman Hardship upon them, to be
and insulted for their Vigilance; for doing what
dare not omit; to be reproached for making
Preparations, and arraigned for their Lives, if
make none: For this is the Dilemma they are
der, in danger from Friends and Enemies.

I know who would have thanked them, had they
taken no Precautions, and who are most enra
because they have taken so many. I am convin
ced that the *Spanish* and *Imperial* Courts are
tably disgusted; that so is the *Pretender*; that
dle his Adherents; and that all of them think
Fleets and Treasure of Great *Britain* wrongfully
maliciously employ'd. I own too, that were I
ed by Ambition and Revenge, and resolved to
throw the Ministry right or wrong, I should
most embittered by their best Actions, and
Fame, as so many Obstacles to my angry Pur
and so many Bulwarks to my Rivals. I should
apt to declaim against some Measures, ridicu
thers, misrepresent and oppose all, and few M
and Folly in every Step they take.

An ill-natured *Athenian* honestly owned his
lice, when being eager to ballot for the Banish
of *Aristides*, he gave for his only Reason, "
"it stung him to the quick, to hear *Aristides*
"where, extolled with the Title of *Aristides*
"Just," without once denying him to be
There are few such fair Adversaries as this
Fellow; an Enemy more artful and less
would have cloaked his private Virulence with
Title and Pretence of Publick Zeal, nay, p
thought it so; for, what is blinder than Pa

as *Aristides* was Treasurer of the Common-wealth, what was easier than to charge him with abusing his Trust, and with overgrown Greatness, terrible to the State? In short, these were the very Crimes falsly charged upon him by his Emulator *Themistocles*, a Man of Parts without Justice.

We have for some time lived in a good Deal of Calm, a Blessing which 'tis the Interest of every Minister to preserve, as 'tis their Merit to have preserved it so long; but 'tis a Blessing which no Nation can always expect, which no Ministry can always ascertain. Let our inward Dispositions be ever so harmless, let our publick Conduct be ever so pacifick, we cannot, without the Consent of our Neighbours, secure lasting Tranquillity to ourselves. Our Peace is still the more precarious, if in the Midst of us, a Band of inveterate Sectaries, ever plotting against it, encourage the Ambition of Foreign Powers to disturb it, and strengthened by a Junto of Malecontents, who, with different Views, do the same Work, encourage the same Designs.

In the Movements of *Europe*, which are distant from us, it becomes us not to be idle Spectators. We know not how far the Issue and Progress of them may affect us. The Interests of Christian Princes are strangely blended and intermixed; and even though mutual Fear, or Trade, or the Nature of a Balance, so happens that the Concerns of no considerable State can be indifferent to another. Hence we see Powers, the remotest from each other, engaged in a Course of Commerce or Contract, with *Muscovy*, *Great Britain* and *Poland*; *Denmark* with *Portugal*. A Fire kindled at one End of the City, will, without timely Prevention, soon flame to the other. But

when the Fire threatens us directly; when our Destruction is manifestly sworn and pursued; when Empires are combined against us, and the Train actually laid; after such dreadful Warning as this, to slight or deride any just Precaution, would be to invite the Ruin, and be the Sin of Self-murder.

King *James* the First was in Peace with the Empire, and *Spain*, and all *Europe*, when the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine* was by the *Imperialists* despoiled of his Dominions: Nor were there then any two or three foreign Powers leagued together, as now, against the Crown and State of *Britain*; yet was King *James* reproached and despised by all the World, as a miserable Politician, and Coward, for not drawing his Sword openly, and repelling the insolent Encroachments of the *Emperor* and *Spain*. These Princes were engaged in an active Combination to extirpate the Protestant Name and Liberties of *Europe*: They had already made a dreadful Progress, and went on pushing for universal Monarchy, till they were checked and humbled by the glorious Efforts and Victories of the immortal *Gustavus Adolphus*, supported by the Subsidies and Arms of *France*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was, during the best Part of her Reign, employing Fleets and Armies against the Pride and Insolence of *Spain*, and by them she baffled all his Designs upon her Throne and Dominions. That Princess concerned herself in every Thing that was doing in *Christendom*, and by Men and Money, and Mediation, always supported the weaker Side. But what avails the urging of Examples, when something much stronger than Examples is to be urg'd; when the Law and Necessity of Self-defence calls upon us; when the Choice is thus short, *Vita mors, aut victoria*, to resist, or be devour'd

In the Business of an Invasion, or Conspiracy, (for they are generally link'd together, and doubtless were now) Incredulity is Distraction: It is impossible to be too hasty in Believing and Acting; else a Nation may be enslav'd before they are convinc'd; and as 'tis the Interest of the Foe to keep us altogether blind, 'tis ours to see rather too much than too little. Hence every Appearance ought to go for a Proof, or at least for a Warning; and the most trivial Evidence may prove the Beginning of the strongest Evidence; since by a Word, a Look, or common Accident, the deepest Secrets may be traced and detected: As to a full Discovery, such as may satisfy every Man, it cannot be made but by the Event; and after the Event, what avails the Discovery? "It is the hard Fate of Princes, (said "*Domitian*) that Designs against their Lives are "never believed till they are executed." A great Conspiracy against a *Roman* Emperor was discover'd by the Servant of a Conspirator, from Circumstances only: He saw his Master extremely thoughtful; he saw him make his Will, and received Orders from him to sharpen a Dagger: Such Indications might seem easily ridiculed and refuted; and at first they were so, but by them the Plot was open'd.

I am far from meaning that such Proofs as I here mention, should be valid against the Lives and Properties of other Men; but only, that they are sufficient to arm us in Defence of our own.

When in the late Queen's Time, we were threatned with a Descent from *Dunkirk*, and *North Britain* prov'd the Place first aim'd at; vehement were the Speeches and Complaints in Parliament and out of Parliament, that that Kingdom was utterly unprovided with Men and Arms, the Fortifications

neglected, and destitute of Soldiers and Stores; as if the Country had been left purposely open to the Invaders. Hence severe Invectives, and terrible Insinuations against the Ministry, who, perhaps, were too secure; (for worse I will not suppose, than worse has been supposed) yet had it been mov'd in Parliament some time before, to put that Kingdom in a Posture of Defence, for that the Ministry had good Grounds to apprehend an Invasion there: 'Tis not unlikely the impending Danger might have been derided, the second-hand Proofs for it (for there could be no other) expos'd in Mirth and Song, and the Motion itself clogg'd with a Clause, *If the same shall appear necessary.* So that the Enemy's Fleet must have first appear'd upon the Coast; nay, to convince the Incredulous that they meant to land, they must have landed. And, when the Foe was in, you must have begun to prepare to keep him out.

I think the Designs and Danger from abroad, are apparent, and well prov'd; and they who endeavour to turn publick Peril into Joke and Drollery, do only shew, that it is easier to strain for a Jest, than find an Argument in defence of a bad Cause, or to combat a good one. If Men, who are under the Impulse of Disaffection and Waggery, cannot conquer in a Dispute; yet, if they have Front enough, they can laugh as if they did; and indeed Laughing is the most unanswerable Thing in the World; for 'tis too impotent to raise an opposite Laugh: So that in this sort of Attack, the dull-est Man is always sure to conquer.

When these kind of Wits are foiled in their Assaults upon Publick Measures, they can still make a fresh one upon the Persons, and Names, and Features of Publick Men, — *Quæ labra, quis*

ever erat? I have heard of a Bishop, who in a Dispute having a good Cause, reason'd so forcibly, that all the Arguments used to answer him were unavailing, except one: The Bishop luckily happen'd to be lame! A tolerable Argument against the Man's Person, had it been first prov'd, that Bishops do any Episcopal Office with their Feet. It was happy for the *Jacobites* that King *William* had a Hawk-Nose, and the Title of *Orange*; else much good Mirth might have been lost to that jovial Body of Men, for a whole Reign and longer.

If these Proficients in Drollery, would bear Reasoning, I would ask them what Relation has the Size, or Figure, or Dress of a Man, to his Employment, unless his Employment be that of a Grenadier? But a Passion for Jesting, and Abuse must be gratified, whatever become of Sense and Reason, of Politeness and Humanity.

This Sort of Behaviour, especially in Print, is so brutal and low, that to expose it, does it Credit. I pass to other Considerations, the Topicks of popular Complaints and Clamour.

No Civil Institution was ever framed with such Fitness and Equality, as effectually to preclude all publick Grievances and Corruption. There is no fixing of Power and Property at a certain Stay and Balance; and from the incurable Fluctuation of those, there will be always arising continual Changes in the Manners of the People, and in the Conduct of their Governors: There are many Civil Maladies, which by no Man's Sagacity could be foreseen; or, if foreseen, could by no Man's Prudence be prevented, and when establish'd, can by no Man's Virtue or Talents be removed, but must be left to Time and Accidents; yet these

publick

publick Maladies, however unconquerable, are copious Themes for Malecontents, and rare Fuel for Faction.

Some publick Corruptions there are of that Strength and Prevalence, that, however shameful and pernicious they may be, they must yet be suffered to remain; lest by rooting them out, (if that be possible, as it often is not) greater Evils be introduced. Such frequently is the Situation of Things, and such the Malignity of Men, that Measures strictly virtuous would bring present Confusion and Ruin; and where an Endeavour to reform would overturn, Reformation is a Calamity. *Desinit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia mores sunt,* says *Seneca*, who was a good Judge.

Nothing was more naturally just, nothing more agreeable to the primitive Constitution of Rome, than the Attempts of the *Gracchi* to check the Exorbitancy of the Grandees, and restore to Force the *Agrarian* Law. But it was too late, it was impracticable, and it ended tragically. The Evil was grown too big for a Remedy; it served only to rend the City into Civil Feuds, taught the Citizens to shed domestick Blood, and left the Minds more embitter'd towards one another. By it too the Nobility learnt only to wax more insolent and imperious.

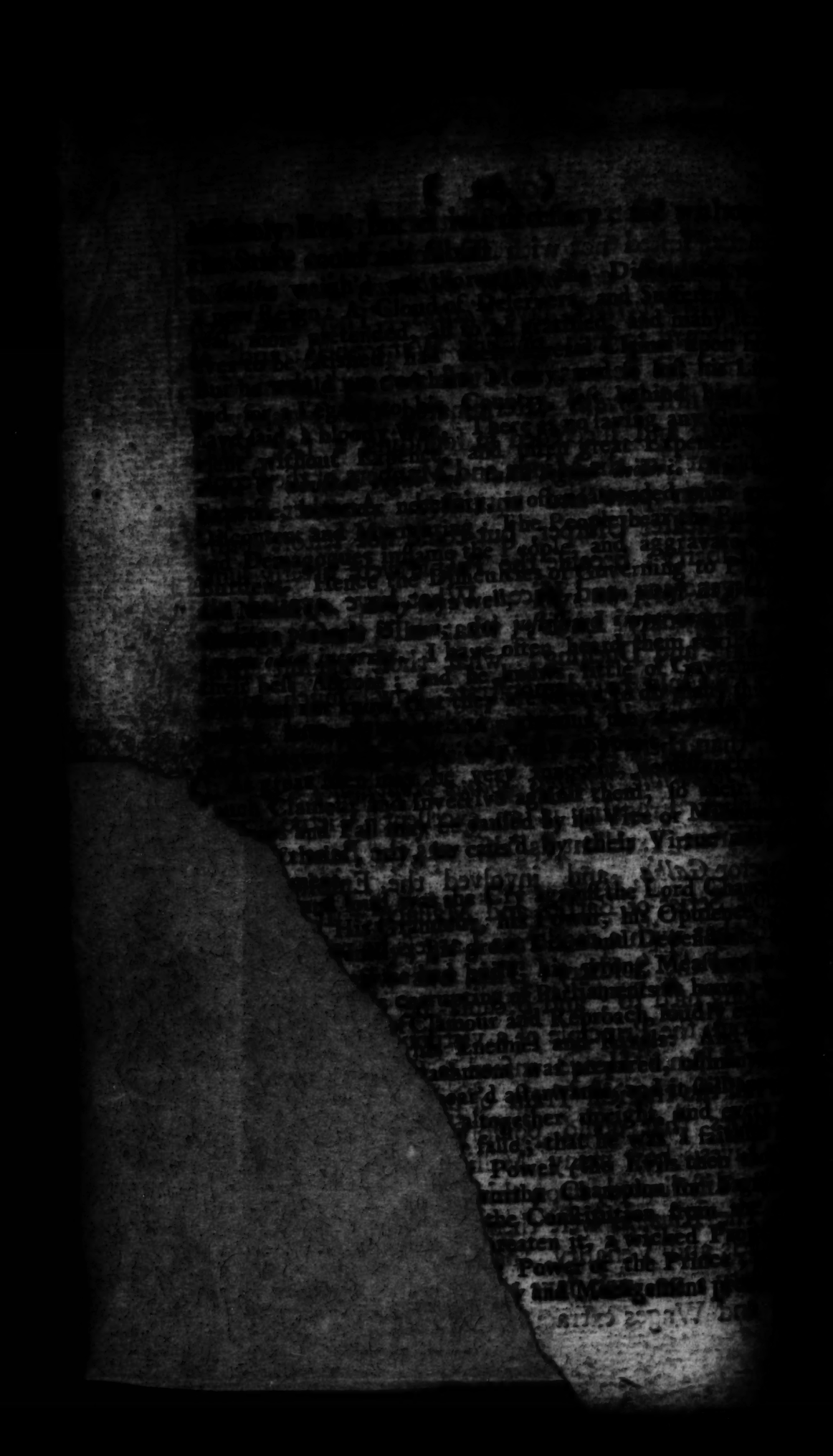
The like ill Fate attended the worthy Pursuits of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, Kings of *Sparta*; who undertook successively to remove the Enormities and Corruptions of their State, and reduce it again to the virtuous Equality and Form establish'd by *Lycurgus*: *Sed mocuit antiquus rigor & nimia severitas*: The People were altogether corrupt; and where they are so, 'tis always dangerous, and often fatal, to impugn the Spirit of the People. The lic-

licentious Sports and Festivities of the *Roman* palace, suited not with the Politicks of *Tiberius*; *sed populum diu molliter habitum, non audebat ad duriora vertere*, says *Tacitus*. They had been accustomed to such publick Wantonness; and, as arbitrary as he was, he durst not curb them.

The first *Brutus* exterminated the Tyranny of *Tarquin*, and succeeded in founding a free Establishment; for the Minds and Manners of the People were then pure and untainted. Another *Brutus* slew a greater Usurper, but could not restore publick Liberty; because the People were utterly sunk in Degeneracy and Vice: What have availed all our sumptuary Laws; what all those against Gaming and Duelling; what those against Bribery? Only to demonstrate how much more power there is in Luxury, and Vanity, and Avarice, than there is in Laws with all their Penalties, *Quid leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt?*

Frugality is an excellent Virtue; but this Virtue, excellent as 'tis, was the Bane of the Emperor *Galba*, and involved the Empire in a terrible Series of Battles and Massacre. It was well, that with a moderate Largess he might have contented the Soldiery: This was what he long need to; and because he [illegible] from the Principle of a virtuous [illegible] murdered him. Hence ensued a [illegible] with all the tragical Train of [illegible] Calamities that could possibly [illegible] Lives, how many Millions [illegible] distributed, upon this [illegible]

The *Romans* were then [illegible] Luxury and Venality, [illegible] Luxury; no, not have [illegible] and Wages extraor[illegible]



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